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AUTHOR Shafer, Susanne
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ABSTRACT

Bilingual education programs in West Germany and Sweden for the children of foreign workers are described. The 4.5 million foreign workers come particularly from Turkey, but also from other southern European countries, from other member nations of the European Economic Community, and from Asia and Latin America. Some are immigrants, some political refugees, and some temporary migrant workers. The following school programs are directed to the children: transitional programs of German as a second language, maintenance bilingual programs, and bilingual/bicultural programs that follow the curriculum of schools in the foreigner's country of origin. German is then taught as a foreign language. In the first instance, the goal is assimilation of the foreign worker's child, while in the second case, it is acculturation; and in the third, eventual repatriation. It is suggested that segregated classes for these children interfere with social integration, and that the weak educational background, especially of Turkish children, and their cultural and linguistic differences interfere with scholastic achievement. These students fail to qualify for postsecondary vocational programs and frequently remain unemployed on leaving school at age 15, the end of compulsory schooling. Sweden has initiated new programs for foreign workers' children. Schools are to offer bilingual/bicultural education to ensure equality of educational access for these children and to preserve their freedom of choice as to where they will eventually reside. (Author/SW)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR GUEST WORKERS

Susanne M. Shafer
Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona 85287

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR "GUESTWORKERS"

While immigrants have been coming to America for centuries, the expectation for a long time was that these persons as well as their offspring would soon learn English and would begin to speak it at work and in school or while engaged in any public business. Only recently has bilingual education become a phenomenon which Hispanics and some other recent immigrant group have sought to make the official policy guiding schools in their relation to the children of immigrants or migrants. Schools in the United States today are to assist the latter students by providing either bilingual education or English as a second language.

Bilingual education has challenged the previous policy which for the more fortunate immigrant children consisted of English as a second language program. Bilingual education has frequently been coupled with the term multicultural education. The double designation of bilingual/multicultural education points to the right or the necessity of preserving the immigrant's child respect for the cultural heritage of his parents, a respect which is to be shown also by his classmates whose parents have a different cultural or ethnic background. Multicultural education is based on the assumption that the United States is a culturally pluralistic nation. Bilingual/multicultural education implies that the pursuit of both facets of this educational construct will in no way interfere in the maintenance of America's democratic ideology nor create dissidents whose loyalty to the United States appears in doubt or whose identification with their own or

their parents' country of origin is stronger than what they feel toward the United States.

America's heritage of slavery and discrimination against blacks brought about the civil rights movement, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision of 'Brown v. Bd. of Education of Topeka, Kansas'. That decision and the subsequent attempts to eradicate segregation from America's public schools have meant that schools have been asked to refrain from any sorting of students or assigning of students to classes on the basis of racial or ethnic differences. Whenever special classes or sections of students are organized for those who are to be taught 'English as a second language', the question of whether such an arrangement segregates the students involved from their mainstream peers must be considered.

If and when bilingual education is attempted, the students who seek to be in such programs tend to be children of immigrants whose parents are not yet very integrated economically or socially into American life. Bilingual education also means that the child is taught in L1 (mother tongue) as well as L2 (second language), with a steady shift from the former to the latter as the learner gains competence in L2. Bilingual education, however, ideally is not ended once the learner has achieved a satisfactory level of competence in English. Rather, L1 is continued to aid the learner to attain an adult level of competence, to introduce him/her to the literature and other aspects of the parents' ethnic cultural base, and to permit him/her to function effectively in the country of origin should he/she choose to go to live

there. While Puerto Ricans often shift from the mainland United States to their home island, other Hispanics are less likely to return to the home of their parents. For Mexican-Americans the economic situation in Mexico speaks against a return, and for Cubans the political dangers posed by the Castro regime make it virtually impossible to do so.

The schools in the United States generally face the dilemma of (1) whether to prepare a child of immigrant or migrant parents for permanent residence in the United States and/or for acculturation and eventual assimilation in order to attain genuine social, economic, and political equality (2) or whether by means of bilingual/multicultural education to ensure that this same child can return to his parents' country of origin and function as an effective citizen there. The same dilemma confronts schools in Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany as well as other countries that have absorbed migrants initially on a temporary basis to fill gaps in their labor force. Those in Western Europe are generally referred to as foreign workers or as "guest workers". They began to arrive in the 1950's generally from Southern Europe to earn additional money, to add to their skills, and eventually to return home to help improve the economy of their own country. In recent years these "guest workers" have been joined by persons seeking political asylum. In West Germany these people have come from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran, from Viet Nam, and from El Salvador among others. Neither for "guest workers" nor political refugees is it clear whether they will return home or remain in the United States, Sweden, or the Federal Republic of Germany, respectively, the three nations to which this discussion is restricted.

Whatever their ultimate decision, they find that their children must be educated. Attendance is compulsory in the three countries in question. In each a democratic ideology forms the basis of the curriculum, school organization, and the dynamics of the relationships among all the participants in schools, such as teachers, principals, and students. A certain degree of unity or esprit de corps should unite the members of a school and especially of individual classrooms where groups are together all day for an entire school year. Social integration is a goal of education in all three countries. Does bilingual education help or hinder to solve the dilemma facing educators in the three countries and does bilingual education contribute to social integration of the immigrants' or migrants' children? In order to search for answers to these questions, the origin of guest workers in Sweden and the Federal Republic will be described, the strategies for educating them will be delineated, and the problems which have arisen will be compared. That data may point to alternatives for American schools dealing with comparable students.

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Minorities

Guestworkers

West Germany, or the Federal Republic of Germany, is, of course, an entity created by the victorious Allies after World War II. Established as a parliamentary democracy, West Germany has given sanctuary to persons needing a safe haven for political reasons. One of the provisions of its Basic Law or constitution permits political

refugees to be given asylum. Displaced Persons from the East thus remained in West Germany until they had found a new homeland willing to have them enter. East Germans who scale the Wall may stay in the Federal Republic under the same proviso.[1]

While immediately after World War II economic conditions in West Germany were chaotic, with the help of the occupation forces, the Marshall Plan, and the currency reform of 1948 the German economy began to recover in the 1950's. As industries were reestablished, workers were needed to fill West Germany's manpower needs. For that purpose the government began to negotiate labor contracts with the governments of Southern Europe, the poorer parts of that continent. The countries involved were Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey.

At first mainly males came to work as semi-skilled or unskilled workers in industry, construction, transportation, and service occupations. Unmarried women arrived, too, as did some wives. The vast majority of these foreign workers—guest workers or Gastarbeiter as they came to be called - were in West Germany without their families. During holiday periods they would return to their native villages or towns to visit their families and to share their new wealth with them. What they were earning far surpassed whatever wages they might have garnered at home. For that reason the guest workers generally returned to West Germany to their place of work although some withdrew from the labor force once they thought that they had accumulated a nest-egg sufficient to last them in their native town for the remainder of their life.

The longer the guest workers were in West Germany, the more they began to bring their wives and children to that country. By the mid-sixties children from Turkey, Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia, and Italy began to make their appearance in West German classrooms in urban areas. Their numbers increased slowly until in the early 1970s West German educators started to mention the need for systematically establishing educational provisions for the guest workers' school-age children whose numbers had swelled to 300,000.[2] By 1976 the children of guest workers constituted between 8 and 10 percent of the West German school population.[3] Due to high birthrates and despite the formal termination of further labor contracting abroad in 1973, by 1977 the number of pre-school-age children were estimated as 400,000 and those of school age (6-15) as 450,000.[4] In West Berlin "one child in four at primary school is a foreigner."[5] Altogether, in September 1980 of the 4.45 million foreign nationals that lived in the Federal Republic of Germany 33 percent were Turks, 14 were from Yugoslavia, another 14 percent were from Italy, 7 percent were Greek, and 4 percent were Spanish.[6]

> According to statistics released on November 10, 1980, by the State Ministers of Education, almost one in ten elementary school students in the school-year 1979-80 was of foreign parentage. Almost half of them - 45.7 per cent - are children of Turkish "guestworkers." West Berlin has the highest percentage of foreign students (27.1 per cent), followed by Hamburg (12.8), North Rhine-Westphalia (12.3) and Baden-Wuerttemberg (12.0).[7]

> The proportion of births to foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany is almost twice as high (13.5%) as the proportion for the total population (6.3%), despite the fact that almost 62% of married foreign women have a job (as against 42% of married German women).[8]

Although the birthrate among West Germany's foreign residents appears to be declining,[9] "by 1985, ten percent of the children in German schools will be Moslem and the percentage will be higher in the industrial areas,"[10] where Turkish and most other foreign workers are employed.

What these statistics show is that guest workers in West Germany constitute a distinct part of the population. Their children cannot be ignored but must be included somewhere in the educational system. That necessity is based first on the compulsory education provisions which apply to all German children and which are based on humanistic as well as economic motives and second on the ties among Common Market countries. Workers may move freely among member states. Educational qualifications are supposed to be interchangeable for purposes of employment. The Common Market agreements also assume that an educated population reinforces the economies of the member states.

Political Refugees

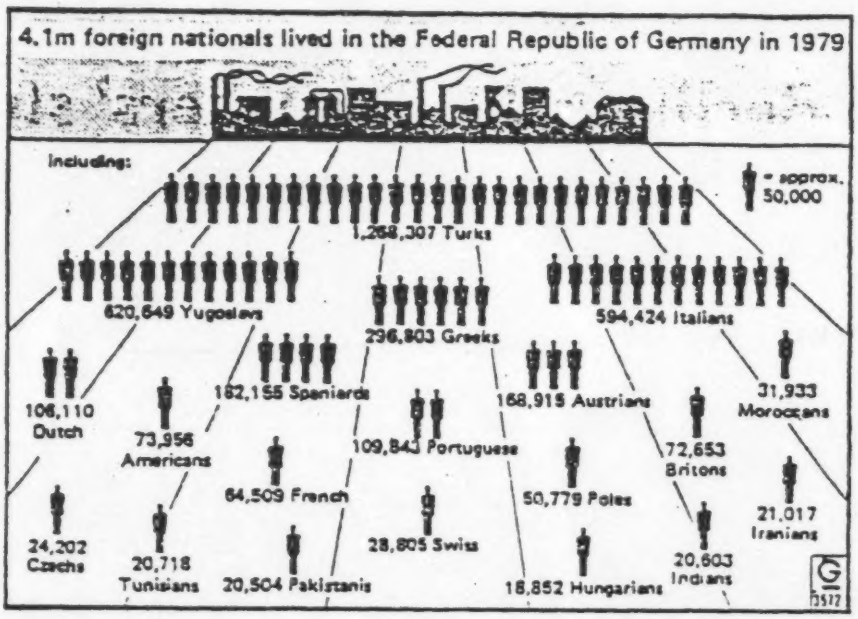
Like the children of guest workers, the offspring of political refugees have come in ever greater numbers to register in German schools. The political refugees mostly come from entirely different

countries than the guest workers, countries which are culturally and linguistically very different also from Germany. Whereas in 1959 3,000 political refugees sought admittance into the Federal Republic, that number had grown to 100,000 by 1980.[11] There is a rather steady stream from Eastern Europe which became a swollen flood-water during and immediately after the Soviet crackdown on Czechoslovakia in 1968. Until the mid-sixties the number of political refugees from Africa, Asia, or the Middle East were tiny, but thereafter and all through the 1970s the influx of persons from these regions has grown steadily. By 1980 18,000 came from Asia, 3,300 from Africa, 4,500 from the Middle East, figures which exclude the 3,000 or so Palestinians who are classified as stateless persons. Very recently political upheavals in Turkey such as attacks on Turkish Christians have brought more Turks to West Germany, this time for political and not economic reasons.[12] The diversity of countries of origin poses tremendous problems for German educators who wish to provide bilingual education to the newcomers' school age children.

E.E.C. Nationals

Because of the European Economic Community (Common Market) agreements, nationals from member nations can and do move across borders to find work. British and Irish doctors, for example, have come to West Germany in order to receive higher salaries than are given to doctors in their own country. These professionals are likely to bring their families when they make this sort of a transition. Other people come for short periods of time to test the employment market. If their

children accompany them, the latter cannot be sure that they will remain in a German school for very long. The chart below summarizes the data on foreign nationals who were in the Federal Republic as of 1979.[13]



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Education of Guest Workers' Children

Policies.

The first time that the children of guest workers in West Germany were recognized as needing the services of the schools was in 1964. The Conference of Education Ministers at that time considered the

question of compulsory attendance, preschool classes, remedial education, and education in the mother tongue. They followed a double strategy, i.e. namely to have these foreign children prepared both for integration into the life of West Germany and for a return to their home country. As a result of the economic recession of 1967-68 and the subsequent restriction on further immigration from the Southern European countries, preference came to be given to the second of these strategies, namely the attempt to offer an education similar to what they might receive in their homeland, one culturally centered there. German was taught as a foreign language. Other subjects were taught in the children's home language, often by teachers who had been brought to West Germany from the countries in question, namely Turkey, Greece, Spain, Italy, and Yugoslavia. By 1976 the Conference of Education Ministers agreed that whenever the children of foreign workers of any single ethnicity constituted more than one-fifth of any class, a separate section for these children could be established. In the meantime the number of such children grew due to the high birthrate among these groups, their decision not to return to their homeland, and the addition of other family members who moved to West Germany. As a result, segregation of the immigrant children in schools increased and more so in some West German states than in others. Bavaria even sought permission from the ministers to establish ethnic classes in the Realschule and the Gymnasium, the two more difficult forms of secondary education, thereby confirming an almost apartheid like approach to the matter.[14]

Only more recently has there been a reconsideration of this strongly segregationist approach to the education of the children of foreign workers. West Germans are not unaware of American conflicts over segregation and integration. They also are cognizant of the Common Market countries' intent to create a free-flowing labor market. As members of the Council of Europe, they have listened to that body's advice that a form of international education is preferable to segregation of nationality groups in a country. Rather, these should be taught to live together each respecting the ethnic characteristics of the others.[15] West German states consequently are now aware of the need for integrating socially and culturally the children of foreign workers into the life of the Federal Republic and for teaching German children to be receptive to such integration and to be knowledgeable about the newcomers.[16]

In its recent report, "Recommendations for the Integration of Foreign children and Young Persons into the German Education and Training System," the Federal Ministry of Education and Science urged that (1) foreign children be integrated with their German peers in classroom instruction, (2) kindergarten enrollment of these children be increased, (3) ethnic classes be replaced by special two-year preparatory classes for those children who enter school later than the compulsory entrance age, and (4) lower teacher/pupil ratios be implemented in those classes with large numbers of foreign pupils enrolled.[17] The Federal Ministry recommended that the children of foreign workers be considered "integrated" after completion of the four initial years of schooling in the Grundschule.

This policy of total integration of foreign children into German culture and life, focussed as much of it is on the school, has special implications for West German pre-service teachers. Financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science and the State of Rhineland-Palatinate, a three-semester course of studies supplementary to conventional teacher training and entitled "German as a Foreign Language" is available for students at the University of Mainz and the teachers college at Landau, both in that state. The first two semesters of study are given to the teaching of Turkish, Italian, and Greek; the third is devoted to subjects designed to increase the future Grundschule and Hauptschule teacher's understanding of the cultural, economic, and social problems encountered by the foreign child in the Federal Republic.

> They include, for example, information on the situation of foreigners in their home countries and in Germany, the significance of religion and the role of family life for foreign pupils. Information on the educational systems of the home countries is designed to help teachers to assess the pupil's previous knowledge or gaps and to include this in their teaching activity.[18]

The underlying aim of this program and others like it, was expressed recently by Dr. Jurgen Schmude of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science when talking with the Turkish Minister of Education. "Turkish children must be fully integrated into the German educational system.

At the same time they should maintain close ties with their native land through their mother tongue, culture, and religion."[19]

"The policy of the German federal government has been laid down in a number of guidelines.

Pre-school education - - Pre-school education should be adapted to the needs of migrant children, and there should be no fees.

General education. - - Foreign children should attend regular German classes as soon as they have knowledge of German. Mother tongue instruction should be offered under the supervision of the German educational authorities. In urban areas where there are many migrants all-day schools should be created. Schools with a higher percentage of migrant children should be granted more staff and better equipment. Educational and vocational guidance and counseling of migrants should be improved.

Vocational/technical education.- - special programs and courses for young migrants should be developed. The teachers should be prepared better for their task. Full time basic vocational education (Berufsvorbereitungsjahr) should take account of the specific situation of young migrants. Young migrants lacking formal school qualifications should be offered a sufficient number of full-time vocational courses qualifying for a vocational career.

Adult education.- - There should be more opportunities for migrants.[20]

The Federal Government has also prodded the Länder, or states, to join in financing several experimental programs. Their focus indicated the direction in which the government is trying to point the education of migrants. For the pre-school level they want to press for toys and other learning materials for kindergartens with a high percentage of migrant children, and to provide support early on for handicapped migrant children. In the regular schools the government seeks to initiate guidance and counseling, to develop appropriate teaching materials, to prepare teachers for the additional challenge, and to create some all-day schools in urban areas where both parents often are employed. Vocational education is to be made especially attractive for migrant children so as to reduce the number who leave school without any job qualifications. Reaching out to adult migrants, the government wants programs set up which enable migrants to attain school leaving certificates, and they want opportunities for further education for women to be established.[21]

As guest workers increasingly have taken up permanent residence in West Germany and no longer send their children once they reach working age back to their respective home countries, the West Germans have altered their approach to the education of these youth. To this double impetus must be added that of (1) the high unemployment rate of these youth in West Germany and (2) the ill feeling and prejudice toward guest workers and their offspring. Considering the nation's record of

hatred and genocide of Jews during the Third Reich, leaders in government and in education have sought to reverse the tide.

Practices

Social integration began when the children of guest workers entered West German schools around 1960 to fulfill the requirements of compulsory school attendance. They were indeed at first integrated into their respective classrooms but without recognition that they would need instruction in 'German as a second language'. Once the scattered number of such children increased enough so as to force an end to a virtual passing over their unique instructional needs, the West German educational establishment began to consider what steps might be taken to educate these children. Here one must remember that educational policy in the Federal Republic emanates from the state level, not necessarily within a single school.

Since bilingual teachers who besides German had a command of Italian, Spanish, Greek, Turkish, or one of the languages spoken in Yugoslavia were difficult to find in West Germany, there was some effort to bring teachers from these countries to those West German cities where a sufficient number of immigrant pupils were living. In the industrial Ruhr region, for example, six elementary schools opened for Spanish children by 1971.[22] To persuade their more gifted graduates to continue their studies at the secondary level, a Spanish priest sociologist opened a Gymnasium class for such children. Here they were taught the Gymnasium or pre-university secondary curriculum in Spanish

along with German. After three years in this school the students were to transfer to the normal German Gymnasium and continue their studies there.[23]

At a Freiburg school there are international preparatory classes ". . . where new arrivals (-children of various ages and nationalities -) spend a year getting ready for German classes."[24] In other cities foreign children are separated by nationality and placed into special classes for two or four years or perhaps even for all nine years of compulsory schooling.[25] In contrast, the city of Krefeld in the Rhineland, where in the past eight years at least one out of four children born had non-German parents, for the past ten years has used busing to distribute the immigrant learners among all the city's schools and to limit the proportion of such children in any single classroom to between 20 and 30 percent. Not every parent of these children likes the busing, and real social integration does not follow once the children leave the school at midday.[26] Turks, for instance, also attend the Koranic schools where once again they are, of course, separated from German children of their own age.

In Bavaria, the point of entry for many guest workers, 'German as a second language' has now been systematically introduced into teacher preparation, into the officially mandated curriculum guides, and as a scholarly discipline at the University of Munich.[27] In the industrial city of Duisberg a roving educational/cultural bus offers vocational training to Turkish youth using a high technology equipped classroom.[28]

Recently, too, a program of full-time crash courses consisting of accelerated vocational training and instruction in language skills for immigrants has been initiated. "The courses last a year and are designed to achieve social integration by enhancing the participants' chances to find apprenticeship openings or to enter the labor market."[29] To avoid school failure and to strengthen the immigrants' command of German the Saar, one of the eleven West German states, has a program which provides help with homework for 1,500 immigrant students as well as intensive German courses at 25 primary and lower secondary schools.[30] Other states have provided special teacher training programs for teachers that come from the immigrants' home countries, parent counseling to link the school and the immigrant's home more closely, preschool programs for these children, in-service education in German as a second language, and special introductory classes for foreign workers' children who wish to attend the Realschule or a Gymnasium.[31] An elementary school in Hanover has experimented quite successfully with using a German teacher and a Turkish teacher as an instructional team in primary classes where the percent of Turkish children has risen from 15 percent in 1973 to 66 percent in 1981.[32] Older students in the same school receive an extra 5 hours of instruction after school each week, all of this "to keep open for foreign pupils the possibility of returning home by giving them a good grounding in their native language but without burdening them too much with extra lessons."[33]

The integration of foreign students academically and socially into classes of primarily native speakers of German has proven to be

exceedingly difficult in a number of inner cities. Guest workers tend to have moved into these older working class neighborhoods where housing is the least desirable. At the same time German workers have moved away as they have become more affluent. In schools it is often impossible to achieve the goal set by the Conference of German ministers of education of having no more than 20 percent of a class be made up of foreign pupils. Instead, in West Berlin and in an industrial city like Mannheim many inner city classrooms contain only foreign pupils and some contain as many as 60-70 percent of such students. Since native German speaking children are more likely to move on to the more difficult Realschule or Gymnasium at grade 5, the lowest track Hauptschule serves only foreign students in a number of cases.[34] Neither academic nor social integration has been achieved. The only bright spot on the horizon for teachers in the Hauptschule is their discovery of a full range of talent among their mix of foreign students. Not all the good learners have been drained off by the other two types of secondary schools.

Chart 3 below offers an overview of the variety of approaches to bilingual education and social integration found in the several West German states.[35]

DIFFERENT WAYS OF REPRODUCING AN UNDERCLASS

Type of class	Language of instruction	Goal	Integration/assimilation		
			Physical		Content (C)/ Ideology (I)
			German children	Other guest worker children	
1. German "regular" classes	L 2	Assimilation	+	+	C + + I + +
2. "Special" classes	L 2	Transition & Assimilation	-	+	C + I + +
3. International preparatory classes	L 2	Transition?	-	+	C - I +
4. 1-2 year national preparatory classes	L 2 + L 1	Transition?	-	-	C - I ±
5. National preparatory classes, several years duration	L 1	Transition?	-	-	C - I -
6. Complete national classes	L 1	Maintenance	-	-	C - - I - -

To include the children of guest workers in the regular classes where German is the only language of instruction indicates a minimal concern for these students' academic, social, economic, or even political prospects. This policy has today become outdated in most German schools where foreign students are found. Temporary special classes taught by German teachers to prepare foreign students to make the transition to German are the practice in West Berlin where assimilation is the eventual goal. Baden-Wuerttemberg has organized separate classes for foreign students where, regardless of their nationality, they are taught 'German as a second language' to prepare them for

later transition to regular classrooms where German is the only language of instruction. In some places the former classrooms are made up of children of a single nationality. In Hamburg and North Rhine—Westphalia national preparatory classes with teachers from the student's country of origin follow the syliabi of that country. At the same time the student is taught 'German as a second language'. Sometime before grade 7 the student may transfer to a regular 'German' class. Finally, there remain some classes still taught completely by foreign teachers where maintenance of the home language is the goal and the teaching of German may be ignored. On occasion the Greek ministry of education has urged this approach be followed in West German schools.

The concern over the language of instruction, the degree of social integration, transition or maintenance of the mother tongue as the goal of language instruction, and the maintenance of cultural ties to the home country may not effect all children of guest workers. An estimated 25 percent of compulsory school age immigrant youth do not attend; any of those whose parents are in the Federal Republic illegally are very unlikely to come to school.[36] Neither social integration nor vocational preparation is likely to occur in these cases.

Results

The educational participation and achievement level of the children of foreign workers in West Germany fall short of comparable data for native born Germans. "More than 50 per cent do not reach the school leaving qualification(Hauptschulabschluss). Fifty percent of those who ought to attend part time vocational education (Berufsschule) do

not avail themselves of this opportunity."[37] In a recent survey in Bavaria "only 30 percent had a German school-leaving certificate and just under 50 percent had left secondary modern school (Hauptschule) after the ninth year."[38] "Of the young foreigners without a German school-leaving certificate, 90 percent had no apprenticeship,"[39] an arrangement that normally all students who successfully complete nine years of compulsory education work out. Only 4 percent of Turkish children are found in either the Realschule or the Gymnasium.[40]

Where the children's home language differs markedly from German and where a German dialect different from high German is spoken most of the time around the guest worker's child, academic success becomes doubly difficult. A Turkish child coming from one of the minority language groups of that nation may find himself in a home where the family speaks only Kurdish, a forbidden language officially in Turkey today, in a German village where he is taught some Turkish, on the playground and in the village itself where he hears the Swabian dialect, in a classroom where German dictation and compositions are based on high German, and in a Koranic school where he is confronted with Arabic and the Arabic script.[41] Some would describe many guest workers' children as double semilinguals, i.e. showing incomplete language development in both the mother tongue (L1) and German (L2).

Socially, too, the children of guest workers have a difficult time being considered equal by their German peers. In a study in the Ruhr the evidence indicated that more immigrant children want to play with German children than the other way around. Foreign children in

schools are on the periphery of any classroom group until they become very fluent in German.[42] Psychologically they often display a confusion over identity. For instance, are they Greek or German. If a Turkish child has a Turkish teacher in a segregated class, the latter may say in Turkish, "I don't understand what you are saying." Social, psychological, economic, and academic disadvantages create innumerable barriers which confront children of guest workers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For their teachers, be they German or from their home country, the situation poses grave instructional problems. Many a German teacher feels overwhelmed by the presence of guest workers' children in the classroom. He/she may not yet have received training in the teaching of 'German as a seond language'; he/she not only faces the usual spread of ability and interest but also children from several Southern European countries; he/she may not feel well acquainted with the cultures of each of these nations; he/she may be obligated to provide an additional five hours per week of instruction to which these children are officially entitled. If this teacher is in a Hauptschule in an inner city, the majority of the students may be guest workers' children. If the teacher comes from one of the home countries of the foreign workers, he/she may need upgrading of his/her teacher preparation in order to alter his/her teaching style to conform more closely to that used by native German teachers, a style which tends to be more open and less rigid than that traditional to many Southern European schools.

SWEDEN

In many ways the situation in Sweden as regards minorities is similar to that in West Germany. Swedish industry at one point encouraged guest workers to seek employment, and for years Sweden has accepted political refugees from many parts of the world. Here, too, then children of foreign workers enter Swedish schools, for education is compulsory and offers many opportunities for any young person.

Minorities

As a Nordic country, Sweden like the others in the region permit nationals of its Nordic partners to immigrate freely and to attain citizenship after two years of residence in Sweden. As a result, many Finns have come to settle in Sweden where they represent approximately 40 percent of all recent immigrants (266,000). Others have come from Yugoslavia (45,000), Denmark (56,000), Norway (52,000), Greece (18,700), Germany (35,000), Turkey (10,400), United Kingdom (10,000), Poland (14,000), Italy (8,000), and Hungary (12,000).[43] These figures largely consist of family groups many of whom have higher birthrates than native Swedes. "Of all alien children up to the age of 9, a full 73% were born in Sweden. . . One-fourth of all married aliens have a spouse born in Sweden. . . Immigrants have become such an integral part of the Swedish population that it is virtually impossible to regard them as a special segment of the population.[44] They are, however, found in urban rather than rural regions.

Half of all immigrants live in the three metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmo. No less than

30 percent live in the County of Stockholm. At the beginning of 1978, 19 of the 277 municipalities in Sweden had immigrant populations of more than 10 percent and 61 had immigrant populations exceeding 5 percent.[45]

Policy

As Sweden accepted foreign nationals into its labor force and its communities, the nation elaborated its social policies toward these persons. Since most policies are formulated at the national level, a comprehensive approach was possible. In the realm of education immigrants became entitled in 1965 to free Swedish lessons under the aegis of the adult education associations.[46] As the government realized that immigrants were likely to remain in Sweden for protracted periods of time if not forever, the policy toward immigrants was reviewed. A new one was articulated. Its three main aims were equality, freedom of choice, and partnership. "Immigrant and minority groups must have the same opportunities, rights, and obligations as the rest of the population. . . Linguistic minorities must . . . have an opportunity, within the framework of Swedish Society of expressing their own linguistic and cultural identity."[47] "Members of linguistic minorities must be able to decide the extent to which they are to retain and develop their original cultural and linguistic identity."[48] That they should feel free to return to their home country was emphasized. A mutual and comprehensive partnership based on an acceptance of

equality, on tolerance, and on solidarity should exist between immigrant groups and the rest of the population as well as between immigrant and minority groups themselves.[49] To effect the last aim, these persons have been given the vote in municipal elections and are drawn into parent councils in the schools.

In support of the basic policy of equality, freedom of choice, and partnership, the Swedish Riksdag, or parliament, passed a law that mandates the teaching of the immigrant child's home language and they made grants to the affected municipalities accordingly. "The decision made it the duty of municipal authorities actively to contribute towards promoting and stimulating bilingualism among immigrant children and children of Swedish linguistic minorities."[50] The Riksdag also passed social legislation coordinating family policy, cultural policy, housing policy and social policy for immigrants. The National Swedish Board of Education developed careful guidelines for schools to follow as they attempted to provide bilingual/multicultural education for children with a home language other than Swedish. Significant numbers of pupils were and are eligible.

> In 1980 the reform was applicable to 86,000 pupils who were assessed by their teachers to fit in with the definition. 1,800 pupils needed only study guidance in their home language; 34,000 were taught their home language as a special subject. 16,500 needed both teaching and study guidance in their home language. 40,500 took part in extra tuition in Swedish.[51]

A series of assumptions underlie the policy of bilingual/multicultural education of Sweden's immigrant population. For example, "giving immigrant children a good education is one way of increasing equality and preventing ostracism."[52] Equality here is viewed also in an economic sense, for Swedes have recognized that immigrants are disadvantaged in the labor market when they have little education, no vocational skills, and a poor knowledge of Swedish. Also "the prerequisites of partnership include knowledge of the Swedish language and knowledge concerning Swedish society on the part of the immigrant,"[53] but immigrants and their children should not be forced to ignore their cultural roots. Parents and children should be encouraged to retain their cultural values, and Swedes should be helped to realize that these provide a positive context for immigrant families. Furthermore, "since immigrant children, by reason of their Swedish schooling, are influenced more rapidly than their parents by Swedish culture, a serious conflict of cultures is liable to break out in the home unless the children are helped to feel at home in two cultures."[54]

Linguistic policy for immigrants rests on still other premises. "Bilingualism is a process, not a static condition, and the development of both languages must therefore be constantly nourished."[55] While "absolutely equal command of two languages is probably unattainable, . . ."[56] immigrants can be helped to develop each and to be able to use each at will in different situations. Immigrant pupils must be made ready linguistically to perfect their Swedish so as to cope in

upper secondary school where all instruction is in Swedish. In that school pupils select a vocational track or a pre-university program leading to a specific occupation. Instruction in Swedish, a foreign language to these pupils, then must begin early and remain thorough. For further schooling, for vocational preparation, and for later participation in the community a good command of Swedish is essential.[57]

Practice

Since immigrants tend to cluster in municipalities, the practice is to place their children in schools where they then constitute a sizeable part of the student body. Because of the variety of countries of origin of immigrants, many schools have an equal variety of such children in their classrooms. No matter what the proportions of different nationals are in a classroom, pupils may have elected home language instruction. Swedish as a second language begins when the child enters school and continues from then on. Where foreign students are grouped together, their classes are small, often under 15 altogether. These same pupils receive extra help in their home language and in the subjects they are taking during the schoolday. Four alternative forms of organization are being tried in Sweden.

- an ordinary class, which the pupils leave to attend home language instruction.
- a composite class, where pupils receive a considerable proportion of their instruction in their home languages.

- a home language class, where in principle all instruction is given in the home language and various amounts of instruction in Swedish as a foreign language are also included.
- a preparatory class comprising one or more language groups, where lessons are taken in Swedish but where pupils can also be taught the home language and given study guidance in the home language.[58]

In 1978 there were 378 home language classes with a common home language other than Sweden, including 278 with Finnish-speaking pupils. Others included Turks, Arabs, Spaniards, and Yugoslavs.[59] ". . . an estimated 7,750 pupils were being taught in composite classes."[60] Most students actually attend ordinary classes with their Swedish peers. Those who need supplementary instruction in Swedish or in other subjects receive it. Many forego home language instruction because it interferes with the regular program of their class group.

To conduct home language instruction and also to teach the home language classes, Sweden has brought in teachers from the immigrant pupils' countries of origin. Quite often these persons needed additional teacher preparation to work in their new classrooms more in the manner of Sweden's teachers. For native Swedish teachers in-service education has been used to familiarize them with the cultures of their immigrant pupils and with the latter's educational needs.

Results

The fact that the Swedish government including the National Swedish Board of Education continue to explicate the educational policy which is to apply to immigrants and their children show that experience is teaching these officials what alterations are necessary and desirable. When the ministry continues to show concern over the removal of any barriers to the social integration of immigrants, one can draw the conclusion that prejudice against foreigners residing in Sweden has not yet vanished. The relatively high unemployment rate of immigrant youth indicates that their learning is not yet on a par with their Swedish classmates. While immigration policies have been made far more restrictive recently, Finns continue to enter Sweden freely because of the pact among the Nordic nations, and immigrants already in Sweden have a higher birthrate than Swedes themselves. Present political conditions in their home countries continue to keep many immigrants in Sweden. The need for a bilingual/multicultural education thus remains.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR GUEST WORKERS

If the door is to be left ajar for the children of guest workers or political refugees to seek assimilation in the host country, be that the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, or the United States, educators must ensure learning directed to that end or at least not foiling such an end. Whether or not the parents of these children also opt for assimilation is secondary. Any person who spends the formative years in a country and in its schools very likely gives

serious consideration to a continuation of residence there once he/she is old enough to enter the labor force and reaches his/her maturity.

What the experience of West Germany and of Sweden indicates is that provisions for bilingual education are made less effective or may even be less prevalent because of the uncertainty with which the learner faces the future. He/she does not know how long his/her family will remain in the host country, how he/she would be received if they were to return home, what kind of occupation to prepare for either in the host country or back home, whether he/she would be able to find employment in the occupation selected, and how his/her peers in the host country will respond once he/she gains competence in the second language and seeks assimilation. The answers to some of these questions become more difficult to work out when immigrants are isolated from the native born in housing, in schools, and during leisure activities, conditions which hold true for many of these immigrant youth in the Federal Republic as well as in Sweden.

Social distance between these youth and their peers is reinforced when they are in separate classes in school, and therefore teachers have no opportunity to integrate them with native born children during instructional activities so as to counter any insipient prejudice. Once students are integrated for at least part of each day, multicultural education may bring the students closer together. Bilingual education for the immigrant remains a sine qua non. Being competent in his/her home language probably contributes to a satisfactory

personality development and surely eases the child's relationships in the home. Becoming conversant in the host country language encourages economic acculturation and may give a sense of political efficacy. Political literacy may be called for not only in the host community but in regard to political issues in the home country. Political refugees, in particular, need that kind of wisdom if they are to determine for themselves where to build their future.

Immigrants in the United States and their children face similar issues. Educational policy for them may well be guided by the bilingual/multicultural policies evolving in Sweden and the Federal Republic.

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